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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-10 EUR-12 /076 W
----- 052915

R 271615Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9214

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 1186

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: HIGHLIGHTS OF SENATOR PERCY'S MEETING WITH PROFESSOR
WALID KHALID

DEPARTMENT PASS VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER AND SENATOR PERCY'S
OFFICE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SENATOR PERCY

1. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF SENATOR PERCY'S MEETING WITH
PROFESSOR WALID KHALID OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT, EXECUTIVE
DIRECTOR OF INSTITUTE FOR PALESTINIAN STUDIES, JANUARY 17, 1975, AT
BEIRUT HOME OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER SAEB SALAM FROM 6:45 P.M.
TO 8:30 P.M., WHO ALSO SAT IN. KHALID IS A PALESTINIAN INTELLECTUAL
WHO IS A CONFIDANTE OF AND SPEECHWRITER FOR YASSIRE ARAFAT.

2. UNLESS YOU GET A SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, BEGAN
PROFESSOR KHALID, YOU'RE NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT
OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT. THE SITUATION AT PRESENT, HE SAID, IS
THAT THERE'S BEEN A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE THINKING OF PALESTINIAN
LEADERSHIP, AWAY FROM "ULTIMATE SOLUTIONS" AND IN THE DIRECTION
OF COMPROMISE--"THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT ABOUT HIS CHANGE FROM A
UTOPIAN TO A PRAGMATIC APPROACH."

3. ASKED BY PERCY WHAT THE PLO PRECISELY WANTED, KHALID REPLIED,
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"GAZA, THE WEST BANK AND EAST JERUSALEM" HE SAID THE PLO RECOGNIZES

THERE HAS TO BE A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH HUSSEIN, AND THAT THE BEST

WAY TO STAY IN CONTACT WITH THE REST OF THE ARAB WORLD WOULD BE THROUGH AMMAN. HE SPOKE OF A PALESTINIAN STATE ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.

4. "THE PLO", HE SAID, "IS NOT GOING TO SAY NOW THAT IT'S GOING TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL, ESPECIALLY WHEN ISREAL WON'T RECOGNIZE THE EXISTENCE OF THE PLO. BUT EVENTUALLY THERE WILL HAVE TO BE A FUNCTIONING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISRAEL AND APLESTINIANS ON THE WEST BANK; THIS, OF COURSE, WOULD TAKE TIME TO MATURE." WOULD A PALESTINIAN

STATE POSE A THREAT TO ISRAEL, ASKED KHALID RHETORICALLY. "THE OPPOSITE QUESTION HOLDS TRUE, " HE SAID. "THE ULTIMATE DEMOCRATIC STATE," HE SAID, "IS VERY FAR OFF AND UTOPIAN. BUT THERE IS A HOPE THAT IN THE FULLNESS OF TIME, ACROSS THE DECADES, THE ISRAELIS WILL THINK OF THEMSELVES MORE IN INTERACTION WITH THE HINTERLANDS. THE MIDDLE EAST IS A MOSAIC OF COMMUNITIES, MANY OF THEM THOUSANDS OF YEARS OLD, WHICH SURVIED BECAUSE THEY ACCEPTED THE RULES OF EOEXISTENCE. WE WOULD HOPE THAT ISRAEL EVENTUALLY WOULD ABANDON THE IDEA OF EXCLUSIVITY--TO FEEL PART OF THE MID WORLD AND LESS AN EXTENSION OF THE UNITED STATES."

5. KHALID SAID THAT HE DIDN'T SEE HOW ONE COULD HAVE AN INDEPENDENT STATE ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WHICH DIDN'T ACCEPT THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL. HE NOTED THAT UN RESOLUTION 242, WHICH "CLEARLY TALKS ABOUT CLEAR AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES, "HAD BEEN ACCEPTED BY SYRIA, EGYPT, JORDAN AND LEBANON. "IT IS THE ISRAELIS,"HE SAID", WHO ARE STALLING ON THIS ISSUE. THE BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT EXISTS AS IT HAS NEVER EXISTED BEFORE; IT WOULD BE TRAGIC NOT TO SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT."

6. "WHAT KIND OF ISRAEL DO YOU IN THE U.S. WANT TO DEFEND, "HE ASKED, "--THE ISRAEL OF 1967 OR THE ISRAELI EMPIRE OF TODAY?" THE ISRAELI PROBLEM, HE SAD, HAS BEEN MOVING IN WIDENING CIRCLES, AND ALWAYS AT THE CENTER HAS BEEN THE DESIRE OF PALESTINIANS TO GO BACK TO THEIR HOMELAND."

7. WHEN I ASKED SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ARAFAT UNITED NATIONS SPEDCH (WHICH HE ADMITTED TO HAVING HELPED PREPARE), KHALID
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SAID THAT THE LAST TWO PAGES WERE THE "SIGNIFICANT" ONES--" IT IS THE PROGRAM OF THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY." WHEN ASKED WHY IT WAS NECESSARY TO INCLUDE ARAFAT'S "DREAM" OF A UNIVERSAL PALESTINIAN STATE, KHALID NOTED THAT ARAFAT TOO HAS A CONSTITUENCY OF EXTREMEIST, AND THAT WHAT WAS IMPORTANT TO RECALL WAS THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME, A PALESTINIAN LEADER HAD SHIFTED THE CONCEPT FROM BEING A MAJOR GOAL AND CARDINAL PRINCIPLE TO BEING JUST A DREAM. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN POLITICAL SUICIDE FOR ARAFAT NOT TO HAVE MENTIONED

THE DEMOCRATIC STATE, HE SAID, BUT IT WAS NOT THE CLIMAX OF THE SPEECH,
H,

"THE DRIVING THRUST OF THE SPEECH." HE NOTED THAT THAT PORTION HAD BEEN FOLLOWED BY THREE CENTRAL CONCEPTS: 1) SELF-DTERMINATION, 2) RETURN TO THE LAND, AND 3) NATIONAL AUTHORITY OVER THE WEST BANK, GAZA AND EAST JERUSALEM. KHALID SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT IN POINT NUMBER 2, ARAFAT DID NOT SPEAK OF PALESTINIANS RETURNING TO THEIR "ORIGINALZZ HOMES, BUT INSTEAD HAD SPOKEN IN MUCH MORE GENERAL TERMS. "IT WAS THE CLOSEST HE COULD HAVE COME TO ACCEPTING RESOLUTION 242 WITHOUT ACTUALLY SAYING IT, " NOTED KHALID. "ARAFAT SAID THAT HE ACCEPTED THE RIGHTS OF ALL JEWS TO COME AND STAY IN PALESTINE, WHIC NO PALESTINIAN LEADER HAS EVER SAID BEFORE. HE APPEALED TO THE MEWS IN ISRAEL, WHICH IS UNPRECEDENTED. AND WHEN HE SAID, "DO NOT LET THIS BRANCH DROP FROM Y HAND, " IT WAS NOT A THREATENING TONE BUT A PLEADING TONE." KHALID ADDED THAT THE UN IS NOT THE PLACE TO ELABORATE ONE'S BARGAINING POSITION.

8. KHALID SAID THAT ARAFAT IS TRYING TO LEAD "A KINGDOM OF THE WRETCHED AND THE DISPERSED, REVOLUTIONARIES AND CUT-THROATS."

9. SENATOR PERCY MENTIONED THE HOLSTER WHICH ARAFAT WORE DURING HIS UN APPEARANCE, NOTING THAT THAT WAS THE PRIMARY SYMBOL WHICH MILLIONS OF PEPE WOULD REMEMBER UNFAVORABLY. KHALID SAID THAT ARAFAT HAD AGREED TO THE SUGGESTIONS OF HIS ADVISORS THAT HE SHAVE HIS STUBBLE AND TO TAKE OFF HIS DARK GLASSES (WHICH KHALID SAYS HE WARS FOR WEAK VISION). "IT WAS SUGGESTED AS WELL, "SAID KHALID, "THAT HE HAND OVER HIS GUN; BUT HE HAD TO THINK IN THE GRAMMAR OF THE REFUGEE CAMPS, SO HE KEPT THE HOLSTER ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT CARRY THE WAPON ITSELF, JUST AS HE INSISTED ON THE CHAIR BUT DID NOT SIT IN IT."

10. WHEN PERCY SAID THA MOST AMERICANS THINK OF THE PLO IN TERMS
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OF TERRORIST TACTICS, PROFESSOR KHALID REPLIED THAT GENERALS ALLON AND DYAN "ARE PROFESSIONAL ARAB KILLERS."

11. SENATOR PERCY RAISED THE QUESTION OF JERUSALEM, SUGGESTING THAT THE OPTION OF UN CONTROL OUGHT TO BE LOOKED AT. KHALID REPLIED THAT THE QUESTION OF ISRAEL COULD BE BROKEN INTO FOUR PROBLEMS; 1) THE PROBLEM OF SOVEREIGNTY, 2) THE PROBLEM OF THE HOLY PLACES, 3) THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNITY SERVICES, AND 4) THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN BEINGS. CONCERNING THE PROBLEM OF SOVEREIGNTY, KHALID SAID THAT THE IDEA THAT SOVEREIGNTY SHOULD REST EXCLUSIVELY WITH EITHER ISRAEL OR THE ARABS IS NOT FEASIBLE. HE SUGGESTED, INSTEAD, CO-SOVEREIGNTY ALONG THE LINES OF PRE-1967 --"UDAL-SOVEREIGNTY WITH THE ARABS ON THE EAST SIDE AND ISRAEL ON THE WEST."

12. IN REGARD TO THE PROBLEM OF THE HOLY PLACES, PROFESSOR KHALID

SUGGESTED "SOME KIND OF ECUMENICAL COUNCIL WHICH WOULD WORK OUT THE RULES OF THE GAME--ACCESS, DRESS, ETC." HE SAID THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNITY SERVICES COULD BE WORKED OUT THROUGH A DUAL MUNICIPALITY WHICH COULD SHARE SOME SERVICES OF THE COMMUNITY, WHILE DIVIDING OTHERS.

13. REGARDING WHAT HE CALLED "THE HUMAN PROBLEM" OF JERUSALEM, KHALID SAID, "ISRAEL IS DUMPING PEOPLE ON THE ARAB SIDE; THEY ARE TRYING TO CREATE A FAITH ACCOMPLI; THEY WILL ARGUE THAT IT'S INCONCEIVABLE THAT THESE PEOPLE BE DISPLACED. HOWEVER, SOMETHING COULD BE WORKED OUT WHERE SOME OF THEM REMAIN, SO THERE WOULD BE JEWS ON THE ARAB SIDE JUST AS THERE ARE ARABS ON THE JEWISH SIDE." HE ADDED THAT ISRAEL IS RECKING THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER OF JERUSALEM WITH BLOCK HOUSING. (I WAS ASTOUNDED AT THE MASSIVE HOUSING PROGRAMS IN E. JERUSALEM SINCE MY LAST VISIT.) "THE KEY ISSUE," CONCLUDED KHALID, "IS THE SOVEREIGNTY ISSUE; CRACK THAT AND THE OTHERS WILL FALL INTO PLACE."

14. KHALID SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS GIVEN ISRAEL "THE OBJECTIVE MEANS FOR A PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKE," NOTING THAT ISRAEL NOW HAS A 21-DAY SUPPLY CAPACITY FOR WAR. "THERE ARE 140 MILLION ARABS ACROSS THE WORLD," HE SAID. "IS IT US POLICY TO ALIENATE THESE PEOPLE? YOU ARE THROWING THE ARABS INTO THE LAPS OF THE COMMUNISTS, ESPECIALLY THE ARAB YOUTH; YOU ARE ALIENATING THEM. IT'S ACTUALLY QUITE ASTONISHING HOW MUCH GOOD WILL THERE REMAINS IN THE ARAB WORLD TOWARD THE UNITED STATES, TAKING ALL THIS INTO ACCOUNT." CONFIDENTIAL

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15. SADAT, HE SAID, IS NOW THE SYMBOL OF MODERATION IN THE ARAB WORLD. "IF MODERATES FAIL AT THIS JUNCTURE, WHO CAN HOPE FOR MODERATION AGAIN?"

16. WHEN PERCY SAID THAT THE U.S. WAS NOT GOING TO BE PUT IN A POSITION OF ARMING ISRAEL FOR A PRE-EMPTIVE OFFENSIVE STRIKE, KHALID REPLIED, "YOU'VE ALREADY DONE IT."

17. REGARDING TERRORIST ATTACKS ACROSS THE LEBANESE BORDER, KHALID SAID THAT PALESTINIANS HAVE BEEN SEALING DOWN THEIR "OPERATIONS" FROM LEBANON. "ISRAEL ATTRIBUTES TO LEBANON," HE SAID, "WHAT OFTEN IS NOT LEBANON'S RESPONSIBILITY. THE ISRAELIS DON'T LIKE THE NON-EXCLUSIVITY OF LEBANON-THE CO-EXISTENCE THERE OF CHRISTIANS AND MOSLEMS. ISRAEL MAY WANT, THEREFORE, TO DESTABILIZE THE LEBANESE SYSTEM."

18. I FEEL THAT IT WOULD BE WELL WORTHWHILE FOR US TO KEEP IN CONTACT WITH PROFESSOR KHALID.

19. DEPARTMENT PASS OTHER POST AS APPROPRIATE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, TEACHERS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, TERRORISTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: greeneet
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975ROME01186
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750030-0176
From: ROME
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750117/aaaaapdu.tel
Line Count: 223
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <04 JUN 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <14 OCT 2003 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: HIGHLIGHTS OF SENATOR PERCY'S MEETING WITH PROFESSOR WALID KHALID
TAGS: PFOR, OREP, XF, US, PLO, (PERCY, CHARLES H), (KHALID, WALID)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006